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8 December 1964

SEC BRIEFING

SOVIET-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS

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1. Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito is today steaming across the Red Sea enroute to meet another "in-betweener"—Nehru of India. Tito's visit is to last from mid-December into the new year.

A. Invitation brought by Mrs. Pandit in June, announced by Tito 15 September. India and Tito press comment on the visit repeatedly, stressing common interests of both countries. Tito and his press take pains to deny intention of forming "third force." He will go from India to Burma, but is not going to China. Nor will he go to Pakistan, which invited him belatedly.

B. This trip to the East extends Tito's post-WWII travels, which have previously been to countries of western alignment (England—March 1963; Turkey, Greece—spring 1964). Invites have been dropped for invitation for Tito from US. Other high Tito leaders have specially emphasized visits to socialist groups in Asia and West Europe—latest such was October trip by number two man, Zardelj to Sweden, Norway and Belgium.

II. Tito's visit comes in midst of highly intensified period of Soviet wooing of Tito, the speed-up starting mid-September.

A. Soviet gestures include:

16 Sept - Moscow starts quoting Tito press and leaders.

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attempting to give impression of support for Soviet policy.

1 Oct - Small trade agreement—\$2.5 million each way by year's end—with USSR (Obrit-Yugo trade started in May—now at about 4% of Yugo foreign trade)

4 Oct - Tito pulls all anti-Tito books from bookstores—Soviet attaché personally repurchases such books in Paris.

13 Oct - Chinese Communist embassies reported inviting Yugo diplomats to national day parties.

16-20 Oct On tenth anniversary Belgrade liberation, USSR propaganda, for first time since split in 1948, imputes significant role to Yugoslav partisans in World War II.

6 Nov - Soviet Politburo member Bulganin, in major speech, stresses improved relations with Yugo, and pledges continued efforts—Khrushchev sends out Yugo Ambassador to tell him that the statement was a "carefully examined" decision of Soviet government.

20 Nov - Bulganin, Khrushchev, Molotov and Bulganin raise a toast to "Comrade Tito and the Yugoslav Communist Party" at Yugoslav embassy Republic Day celebration.

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1. This is first direct Soviet expression of "approval" toward the Tito "heretics" since split in '48.
2. The attendance of Soviet bigwigs alone was an extraordinary event: They stayed at party over an hour and so close to Tito Ambassador, his normal social duties interfered with.

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3.

20-25 Nov Tito anniversary given extraordinary attention throughout orbit.

1. In Poland, leading figures including Babiuchowski and Gomulka, actually request invitations to attend party given by Tito chargé, who had only invited officials of his own rank.
2. In Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria, premiers attend parties.

B. Tito has taken increasing steps to counterbalance impressions created by Soviet campaign.

1. Tito says he will not "go back to Moscow," calls such talk "arrant nonsense."
2. He also says will not let improved Tito-Soviet

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3. Likewise, he won't allow cut in Tito's defense budget.
4. Tito refused to attend Moscow security conference, said it was a propaganda gesture.
5. No signs that Tito changing basic trade orientation to West, or reliance on Western economic aid.

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6. Question of Tito's personal experiences with USSR gives interesting side-light to present "waving." Review of history (warning: much of it written after '48 break) shows:

1. A Rapsburg POW, Tito spent 1918-20 in Russia--fought on Bolshevik side, married, returned to Balkans.
2. Thereafter visited Moscow five times between '34-'39 on Comintern or Tito Comint business but never met any high-level Soviet leaders, felt Tito Comint were distrusted.
3. Up to '44, thoroughly embittered by lack Soviet support for partisans, opposition to Tito provisional government.
4. First met Stalin on sixth Moscow trip, Sept '44.

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5. For the first half year following break in June 1948, Tito unwilling to blame Stalin himself, who was "misinformed" by those around him.
6. Aside from propaganda considerations, the USSR has a real interest in reversing the trend toward closer Yugoslav ties with the West as exemplified by such concrete commitments as the Balkan Pact. The probable Soviet aim is to bring Yugoslavia back to a neutral position.

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